22: Wiedfeldt--8 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 182, 582, 619 Atayal

As things are now, one can become well acquainted only with the tribes living on the frontier. Nevertheless, as far as I have been able to observe, the members of other tribes resemble them in stature, clothing and tattooing, and are said to resemble them also in mode of life and customs. Just as all the Atayal tribes are distinguished as a unit from the other savages of Formosa because they do not have the common dormitory for the young men, or because they are not acquainted with the custom of chewing betel, etc., so they are united by similar customs. They have the same type of money, they can understand each other, although their language shows dialect variations, since it does not have the benefit of the restraining influence of a written form. Neighboring tribes of the Atayals intermarry and have occasionally undertaken joint military expeditions, two things which are unheard of between branches of different tribes. Conditions among the Schimptonoff and the Taroku may hence be taken as typical of the Atayals, especially since both tribes, in spite of their frontier location, have lost very little of their tribal peculiarities, and have lost that little very recently, apparently.

22: Wiedfeldt--33 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 182 Atayal

In this modest study of the life and activity of the Atayals it has often been apparent that their needs and their means of satisfying them dovetail neatly... with their institutions and their customs. The Atayals have a narrow, but well integrated culture, and despite centuries of contact with the pervasive influence of a superior Chinese culture, they have up to now taken over from it only a few non-essentials. In all the essentials, however, unlike the other peoples of Formosa, they have remained aloof from its influence. That these peculiarly stratified cultural conditions, with which the Atayals still are perfectly satisfied today, existed before they had any contact with the Chinese, and the reasons why they have remained stationary so long can only be explained if we can bore a special hole in this petrified culture on another occasion. For our purposes it is sufficient to assume that Atayal culture is not an isolated pocket, but a stratum of considerable extent.

22: Wiedfeldt--37 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
182 Atayal

Together with language and customs, money [MC: ornamented cloth used as money] is the only tangible bond that unifies all the tribes of the Atayals.

Every tribe is independent of the other tribes, or is even hostile to them. This attitude was adequate, as long as they did not have any dealings with opponents who were superior to them in strength, as is now the case with the Japanese, and it has naturally given the individual tribe and the chief of the tribe a greater measure of freedom and independence than if a portion of his rights and duties had been transferred to a superior institution. To create social organizations without subjection and on a footing of equal rights seems uncommonly difficult in political life as well as in cooperative labor; even for [48]primitive individuals it seems almost impossible, especially if one considers how much scientific effort and practical work has now been directed at this goal. Even under the pressure of the need to defend themselves against Japanese penetration, the Atayal tribes have not been able to unite. Only individual tribes have been able to unite for minor undertakings, and that not particularly satisfactorily. Nevertheless, some of the chiefs have not spared any effort to bring this about. In the tribes in the interior, the union of the clans in the tribe is so slight, that it is not sufficient to enable them to wage war as a joint effort. In their case, it might even be doubtful whether the social bond between the families by means of their clans in the tribe is so strong that they feel themselves to be members of the same tribe, or whether the tribe is only a union of the clan heads. The tribal feasts which are celebrated in common, the uniform and simple legal procedure of tribal decisions, and the fact that they actually seldom take the liberty to absent themselves from tribal wars, make the first assumption seem more probable,

especially since there is no doubt that this is the situation which prevails among the border tribes.

22: Wiedfeldt--48-49 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 64, 182, 614, 631 Atayal

The natural reason for the existence side by side of two superior social institutions, i. e., the clan and the tribe, is space, together with the functions which naturally are incumbent upon them. The tribe occupies 8 to 10 times as much territory as the clan. It would not be feasible to eliminate one of the two organizations, and to give the remaining one all of its functions. The territory occupied by the tribe would be too large to enable the tribe to handle the economic functions of the clan, and to act as owner of all the land. Also, the solidarity of the members of the clan would be impaired by being spread out over too large an area. Reversing the situation, the territory of the clan would be too small to enable the clan to render military and political service. Even the territory covered by the tribe has now proved to be too small for this purpose. The carrying out of their legal customs and their legal procedure would in both cases meet difficulties which could only be overcome by far-reaching changes in the entire social structure. In the organization of society for political functions, the simultaneous existence of two institutions, one of which is subordinate to the other, one of which is regional and the other local, is a logical and necessary thing, which can not be avoided without impairing or even crippling the entire organism. A social organism springs up, however, as soon as we have several people living together. Not only do [49] controversies arise, which must be settled, but there are matters which demand community cooperation and a superior order.

39: Wiedfeldt--13 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 153, 182, 622 Atayal

Some of them, of course, are able to think further agead. For years, some of the tribal chiefs have understood and have attempted to make the others understand that individual fights against the Japanese on the part of different tribes mean useless shedding of blood, and that their only hope lies in common action by all the tribes. They have not achieved a great measure of success, due largely to the difficulty of introducing new ideas into the mind of the Atayals, who do not follow their heads, but the prize skulls. ...They are capable of observing closely, and often make slow but correct deductions from their observations...

40: Kirk--16 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 182, 177.18

"With the introduction of agricultural pursuits and Japanese clothing, the primitives are going through a social revolution. In the mountain homes the women have done the weaving for centuries, and the native garments were all homespun. Now the Japanese are taking raw materials from the villagers, and the women who have been transplanted to the lowlands must learn new ways of doing things 'down on the farm.' "

40: Kirk-- 17-18 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 182, 511, 177.51 Ami

"The Ami to a greater extent than any other tribe have become assimilated or 'Japanized,' and it may be more than a coincidence that this East Coast group seems to have the best physique and enjoy the best health and cultural conditions.

The Ami have schools for their children, a young men's association for their youth, and credit organizations in several villages. Some of the more prosperous natives are in possession of more than ten ko, i.e. hectares, of cultivated fields, while others have annual incomes of one thousand yen or more in currency. Some villagers also [18] have postal savings. 'The Ami are now enjoying their life as subjects of the Japanese Empire,'

> With regard to the natives living on the West Coast plains it can be said that they have practically adopted the tenents of ordinary civilization. The aborigines in the mountainous districts still remain impervious to the light of civilization, and their districts, thus debarred from the beneficence of civilization, are still under special administrative control. In general, the aborigines are not put under legal control, and are accordingly living their own lives in consonance with their own traditional customs. At present, however, most of the aborigines have come to obey the order of supervisory police officials, and have in other ways become law-abiding people ready to

submit to administrative authority. (5)

5. Kokusai Nippon Kyokai, op. cit., pp. 7, 9-10.